175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Nachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[241] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained.

[198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasised that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilisation very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements.

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers.

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Cuba
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
Hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
302 girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to his as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they [15] straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organised athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organised athletic training is a [177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school.

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later.

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length.

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land.

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
[302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot water-tub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

[516] In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

● 302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 and 19 the ceremony of genbutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

[175]

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

[177] The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length. [177]

From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again. [177]

In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shave... The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently. [175]

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

305
302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms.

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes.

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her

for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

857
226
854
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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302 ●

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

854
482
302
←

857
→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

857
291
526
←

Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

853
302
291
→

[p 456-D]

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimunaa. [775] [776] The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". [171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails •[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages [834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does [703] not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming [853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts [814] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way [515] that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [326]

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [177]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [241]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status. All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 262 Diet With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually increased and became severe. [177] After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. [434] Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 262 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as cooking fat. [272] It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 262 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still constitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many